Chapter Seven: Community Builders

Alexander C. Lanier brought his family to Madison, Indiana, in 1817. Then a town having virtually no history Madison offered unbounded hope to those with the skill to transform a wilderness into a city. Lanier had come west about 1802 from Beaufort County, North Carolina, to Bourbon County, Kentucky, where he invested in land. Ruined in Kentucky when a defect of title caused the loss of his holdings, he moved in 1807 to Eaton, Ohio, in hope of regaining his lost estate. Service with General William Henry Harrison in the War of 1812 interrupted his stay in Eaton and brought him to Indiana Territory. After the war Lanier returned to Eaton but dissatisfaction there soon led him to move his family. Indian titles had been extinguished only twenty miles north of Madison, but the little settlement offered great promise as an entrepot for the interior of the state when that region opened to pioneer settlement. In Madison Lanier started a dry goods store but financial success eluded him. In 1820, ill from diseases contracted while serving under General Harrison, he died insolvent.[1]

To James F. D. Lanier, Alexander's son, Madison gave the success denied his father. Madison and the younger Lanier grew together; in them mingled personal and public growth, personal and public prosperity. Only twenty when his father died, burdened with his father's debts, young Lanier fixed his hope on Madison. "My surplus means," he wrote many years later, "were, as fast as acquired, invested in real estate which, as in all new States,

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[1]Lanier, Sketch of the Life, 5-11. Madison Indiana Republican, April 13, 1820.

rose rapidly in value."[2] Through real estate investment in Madison,[3] as president of the Madison Branch of the State Bank, and as a director of ten of Madison's corporations, Lanier became one of the city's most important community builders. When he died in New York in 1881, at the age of 81, he had accumulated an estate estimated at between five and ten million dollars.[4] Much of this wealth he obtained after leaving Madison, but the beginnings had come from his local enterprises.

This chapter considers four groups of Madison citizens who participated in the building of the community through land investment or association with Madison related corporations. The four groups include: those who first invested in Madison's future through purchase of land there between 1811 and 1820; those who owned $2,500 or more in real estate in Madison in 1844 on the eve of its most rapid expansion; those who invested in and directed Madison's early corporations between 1814 and 1844; and those who invested in and directed Madison corporations between 1845 and 1857.[5] Many looked to the promise of Madison for success: John Paul, William Hendricks, and Michael G. Bright, like the younger Lanier, found it; Jonathan Lyon, Israel T. Canby, and Henry Ristine, like Lanier's father, did not. All contributed

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[2]Lanier, Sketch of the Life, 13.

[3]In 1836, Lanier, in conjunction with John Sheets and W. G. Wharton, purchased one-sixth of the town from Jacob Burnet who had bought the portion of proprietor Jonathan Lyon in 1816. Madison Republican and Banner, February 18, 1836.

[4]Madison Daily Herald, August 31, 1881.

[5]These groups have been chosen because the source material exists for their identification and because their selection allows the study over time of a number of men highly influential in the building of Madison--those who invested in and directed the use of its land and those who invested in and directed its enterprises.

to the building of Madison, successful and unsuccessful, famous and anonymous.

Early Madison and its environs included sections 34, 35, and 36, Township IV North, Range X East and fractional sections 1, 2, and 3, Township III North, Range X East. John Paul, Lewis Davis, and Jonathan Lyons, purchased fractional sections 1, 2, and 3. Ten men bought quarter sections in sections 34, 35, and 36. All purchases were made between 1808 and 1811.[6] Only John Taylor, who bought the southern half of section 34 and the southeastern quarter section of section 35, purchased more than a quarter section. From 1811 to 1820, 103 men made purchases of lots in these subdivided sections.[7] A total of 116 men invested in land in Madison and its environs between 1811 and 1820. Unfortunately little can be learned about most of these men and for many little more than their names survive. Lewis Davis came to Madison from Xenia, Ohio with John Paul, but in 1817 deeded his land to Lewis Whiteman and returned to Xenia.[8] Why he left Madison or what happened to him later is unknown.

There is much information for a number of the 116 early land owners. Place of birth is known for 42, the year of birth for 37, and the occupation

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[6]Jeffersonville Land Office, Register's Journal, April 15, 1808-March 31, 1812, p. 19ff (Archives Division, Indiana State Library); Jeffersonville Land Office, Register of Certificates, 1808-1816, Register No. 45ff; Jeffersonville Land District, Tract Book No. 5 (Archives Division, Indiana State Library), 312.

[7]General Index of Deeds in Jefferson County, Grantee 1812-1835 (Recorders Office, Jefferson County Court House, Madison, Indiana); General Index of Deeds in Jefferson County, Grantor, 1812-1835 (Recorders Office, Jefferson County Court House, Madison, Indiana).

[8]Green County 1803-1908, edited by a Committee of the Home Coming Association (Xenia, Ohio, 1908) 44-45; Hendricks, Biographical and Historical Souvenir, 214-15.

for 39.[9] Twenty-three property owners were born in the South, seven in Virginia, eight in Maryland, and six in Kentucky; thirteen in Mid-Atlantic states, twelve in Pennsylvania; three in New England; and three in Ireland.[10] Some of those born in the South, like Alexander C. Lanier, settled in several places before arriving in Madison, while others, like John Sering from Maryland and Jeremiah Sullivan from Virginia, came directly.[11] Those from the East less often arrived directly from their place of birth. Rather like David G. Bright, father of Jesse and Michael G. Bright, and Nathaniel Hunt, a classmate of John C. Calhoun, they settled in several places before arriving in Madison. Bright was born in Pennsylvania, moving at an early age with his parents to Virginia; from there he went to Plattsburgh, New York; from there to Shelbyville, Kentucky; and then to Madison.[12] Hunt was born in Connecticut and after receiving his law degree began practicing in Rheinbeck, New York; from there he moved to Dayton, Ohio, then to Madison.[13]

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[9]This information comes from a number of sources listed in their order of importance: U. S. Census, 1850, county records, newspaper reminiscences and obituaries, county histories, memoirs, autobiographies, and biographies. Examples of sources are given in the following footnotes.

[10]Sectional divisions of states in which Madison community builders were born:

South	Mid-Atlantic	New England	West
Virginia	New York	Connecticut	Ohio
Maryland	Pennsylvania	Massachusetts	Indiana
Kentucky	New Jersey	New Hampshire	
North Carolina		Vermont	
Georgia		Maine	
		Rhode Island	

[11]English Collection, biographical sketches, box "S."

[12]Wayne J. Van Der Weele, "Jesse David Bright Master Politician From the Old Northwest," (doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1858), 3-5.

[13]English Collection, biographical sketches, box "H."

Foreign-born property owners apparently never came directly to Madison but rather, like William Robinson, from Ireland to Baltimore, thence to Madison, they made at least one previous effort at settlement before coming to Madison.[14] For many of Madison's earliest property owners, regardless of nativity, arrival in Madison did not represent their first attempt at town settlement.

The majority of early Madison's 37 land owners for whom date of birth is known were in their thirties and forties during Madison's initial decade between 1811 and 1820. Only one, John Paul, was born before 1770; eleven were born between 1770 and 1799. Both their age and their pattern of previous settlement suggest Madison's first property owners were men looking for the main chance, men willing and able to seek out their western El Dorado. Many must have been men like William Hendricks who came to Madison in 1812, as he said, "without acquaintances, friends, wealth or patronage."[15] Madison fulfilled the hope of some. Hendricks by 1844 owned real estate in the town valued at $71,440.[16]

Not all achieved Hendricks' success, not even most; by 1844 only sixteen of the 116 who owned land in Madison during its first decade were there.[17] Some like John Paul and Nathaniel Hunt had died, many moved on. Jonathan Lyon lived in Madison about seven years, then sold his land and

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[14]Undated clipping in English Collection, biographical sketches, box "C."

[15]Hendricks to Constituents, Madison Indiana Republican, September 16, 1817.

[16]Lister's Book 1844.

[17]Ibid.

left for Salem, Indiana.[18] Henry Ristine sold his tavern in Madison in 1823 and moved to the present site of Crawfordsville. Dissatisfied, he sold the hotel he had built there and moved to Shawnee Prairie, where the town of Columbia now stands. Again dissatisfied, he returned to Crawfordsville, bought another hotel, and remained there.[19] Israel T. Canby, born in Maryland about 1785, came to Madison about 1816 by way of Boone County, Kentucky. In 1829, he also moved to Crawfordsville, finally settling there. When he was about sixty Canby talked of going to Oregon and seemed determined to try to do so, but death in 1845 prevented his going.[20]

Early Madison's 39 property owners for whom occupations are known were merchants, artisans (hatters, tailors, and carpenters), tavern keepers, newspaper publishers, and professional persons (lawyers, doctors and ministers). There was one farmer and one person who operated a ferry between Milton, Kentucky, and Madison. Of the 39, seventeen were merchants; six were artisans; three were newspaper publishers; five were tavern keepers; two were doctors; two were lawyers; and two were ministers.

The typical early Madison land owner appears to have been a merchant from the South in his thirties or forties. He at times came directly from his home state, but he usually settled in other places before doing so.

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[18]Hendricks, Biographical and Historical Souvenir, 215; The Wanderer, Number 2, Madison Weekly Herald, September 19, 1889.

[19]Portrait and Biographical Record of Montgomery, Parke, and Fountain Counties Indiana (Chicago, 1893), 292-93.

[20]English Collection, biographical sketches, box "C"; Hendricks, Biographical and Historical Souvenir, 171; Israel T. Canby to General Samuel Milroy, February 1, 1845, Correspondence and Papers of General Samuel Milroy and His Sons, 1802-1930 (Indiana Historical Society, Indiana State Library).

He did not stay in Madison, for when the town's promise declined, as in the early 1820s, he moved. Jacob Burnet reported that in 1820 such an economic crisis settled on the West that "the most buoyant spirits could not indulge a rational hope, that the gathering storm could be scattered, or its ruinous consequences be repaired."[21]

In 1820 and 1821 cholera struck Madison, causing much distress and "for about four years business was completely prostrated." In the spring of 1824 the epidemic disappeared and "times began to grow bright, improvements began, & a new era of prosperity continued for several years."[22] Those who remained through Madison's hard times, the Depression of 1819 and the sickly seasons, found their faith in Madison's promise rewarded in the 1830s and 1840s.

In 1844, 121 persons owned real property in Madison valued at $2,500 or more.[23] Place of birth is known for 90 of these, date of birth for 88, occupation for 78, and political party affiliation for 67.[24] Thirty-three were born in the South, thirteen in Kentucky, nine in Maryland, and nine in Virginia; fourteen in the Mid-Atlantic states, ten in New York; eleven in New England, five in Connecticut; ten in the West, seven in Ohio; and 22 were foreign born, fifteen in Ireland and England.[25] The regional

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[21]Jacob Burnet, Notes on the Early Settlement of the North-Western Territory (Cincinnati, 1847), 451.

[22]The Wanderer, Number 5, Madison Weekly Herald, October 31, 1889.

[23]Lister's Book, 1844.

[24]This information comes from the same type of sources as indicated in footnote five.

[25]U. S., microfilm manuscript population census for 1850; Wanderer, Number 5; Hendricks, Biographical and Historical Souvenir, 206.

distribution of this group of community builders differed from Madison's first property owners (Table I, Appendix B). In 1844, both the South and Mid-Atlantic states had declined as contributary regions while the West and particularly foreign regions increased in importance. One of the Irish was William Griffin, born in 1806 in Tipperary County. He came to America about 1823 and settled first in Pennsylvania, where he was a storekeeper. In 1836 he came to Madison and directed the digging of the cuts in the bluff behind Madison for the incline plane of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad.[26]

The 1844 group differed in age, occupation, and political affiliation from the earlier group. The year of birth is known for 89 of Madison's 1844 group of property owners: four were born between 1770 and 1779, twelve between 1780 and 1789, 24 between 1790 and 1799, 33 between 1800 and 1809, and sixteen between 1810 and 1819. None of Madison's large land onwers in 1844 was born after 1819;[27] thus they were all over twenty-five. Younger as a group, the 1844 property owners differed occupationally from the earlier group (Table III, Appendix B). Of the 78 for whom occupations are known, 27 were merchants; fourteen were professional persons, of which seven were lawyers; twenty were artisans, of which six were carpenters; nine were manufacturers; two were inn keepers; and six were farmers.[28]

Though in the initial period of Madison's settlement there were as

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[26]Obituary, Madison Weekly Herald, May 21, 1874.

[27]U. S., manuscript population census for 1850; Hendricks, Biographical and Historical Souvenir, 206.

[28]U. S., manuscript population census for 1850; Jefferson County Commissioners, Record Books, 1838 to 1844 (Clerks Office, Jefferson County Court House, Madison, Indiana).

yet no organized parties, the earlier group was doubtless all Jeffersonian Republican as the names Madison and Jefferson, the county in which it was located, imply. By 1844 of the 68 for whom party affiliation is known, 45 were Whigs and 23 were Democrats.[29]

The community builder of 1844 differed in a number of respects from his earlier counterpart. He was less apt to come from the Mid-Atlantic states, and more likely to have been born in the West or outside the United States. Occupationally he was less apt to be a merchant or a tavern keeper and more likely an artisan or manufacturer. The proportion of professional persons in both groups remained relatively constant--fifteen percent in the earlier group and eighteen percent in the 1844 group. The community builder in the later group was a Whig, whereas his counterpart in the earlier group, before the formation of parties in Indiana, had probably been of the Jeffersonian Republican persuasion.

The community builder of 1844 also tended to remain in Madison longer than his earlier counterpart. Eighty-eight of the 121 persons in the 1844

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[29]Citizens of Jefferson County Who Oppose the Re-election of Andrew Jackson, Madison Indiana Republican, September 13, 1832; Jefferson County Whig Central Committee, Madison Republican and Banner, March 29, 1843; Clay Club Committee, Madison Republican and Banner, July 10, 1844; Whig Representatives of Township to County Convention, Madison Daily Courier, May 16, 1850; Whig Ticket, Madison Daily Courier, August 16, 1852. Democratic Meeting in Favor of Martin Van Buren, Madison Republican and Banner, February 11, 1836; Delegates to Jefferson County Democratic Convention from Madison Township, Madison Republican and Banner, May 9, 1840; Delegates to the Democratic convention of Jefferson County, Madison Weekly Courier, November 12, 1842; Delegates to the Democratic Congressional Convention, Madison Weekly Courier, April 29, 1843; Delegates to the Democratic Congressional Convention, Madison Weekly Courier, July 6, 1844; Delegates to Democratic Congressional Convention, Madison Daily Courier, June 26, 1851; Frederick D. Hill, "William Hendricks: Indiana Politician and Western Advocate, 1812-1850," (doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1972), 319.

group were still in Madison in 1850.[30] In 1860, 45 still remained in Madison.[31] Some of these, such as Jesse and Michael G. Bright, and the younger Lanier, had come to Madison with their parents prior to 1820, and others, such as Stephen C. Stephens, had come to the village during the early period, had left, and returned during Madison's expansion in the late 1820s and 1830s. Stephens arrived in Madison from Kentucky in 1813 and opened a general store. Before long he moved to Brookville and in 1817 was elected to the state legislature from Franklin County. He went to Vevay in 1824 and returned to Madison in 1836.[32] Jesse Whitehead and Francis Costigan, came to Madison for the first time following the depression and "sickly season" of the early 1820s. Whitehead was in Madison in 1831 or 1832, when he opened a general store. It was said that he would bring out a keg of ten and five cent pieces and make change for anyone wanting it. The people of Madison soon began calling these pieces Jesse and half-Jesse.[33] Costigan, an architect who designed and built still-extant buildings in Madison, including Lanier's house, arrived in Madison around 1837 from Baltimore, Maryland.[34]

Of the 121 persons owning at least $2,500 in real property in 1844,

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[30]U. S., microfilm manuscript population census for 1850.

[31]U. S., microfilm manuscript population census for 1860.

[32]English Collection, biographical sketches, box "S"; Woollen, Biographical and Historical Sketches, 353-59; Madison Western Eagle, September 10, 1813.

[33]Reminiscences of James E. Lewis, early Madison resident, in Indianapolis New Record, July 23, 1887.

[34]Wilbur Peat, Notes (Indiana Historical Society, Indiana State Library).

twenty owned $10,000 or more, and three of these in excess of $20,000; four owned property in excess of $50,000.[35] In 1850 seventeen of the twenty remained in Madison and none of those with $20,000 or more had left.[36] Of the three men who did not appear in the census of 1850, one, John Sering, had died; one, Lucius Barber, had gone to Indianapolis, and concerning Isaiah Lawrence no record has been found.[37] By 1860 nine of the twenty remained in Madison, including one who had owned property in excess of $20,000 in 1844, but none of those with property in excess of $50,000 remained.[38] Of the latter group, two, William Hendricks and John McIntire, had died, and two, James F. D. Lanier and John Woodburn, had left Madison. Lanier was a successful New York banker and Woodburn had retired to a plantation in Washington County, Mississippi.[39]

Madison community builders who contributed capital and management to corporate enterprises have been divided into two groups (as were the land owners, Appendix B).[40] The first group includes all the known investors, directors, and officers of the eleven Madison related corporations chartered and operating between 1814 and 1844. These include, in addition to Madison's first banks and insurance companies, turnpike companies,

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[35]Lister's Book, 1844.

[36]U. S., manuscript population census for 1850.

[37]Diary of an Old Citizen, 1845-1847, Madison Daily Courier, January 25, 1871.

[38]U. S., manuscript population census for 1850.

[39]Madison Daily Courier, May 17, 1850; Madison Daily Tribune, November, 15, 1851; Madison Daily Courier, March 14, 1854; April 3, 1858.

[40]Fritz Redlich (History of American Business Leaders (3 vols., Ann Arbor, 1940), I, 3), defines these men as "entrepreneurial community builders."

railroads, a hotel company, and a water and manufacturing company. The second group is made up of all the known investors, directors and officers of the nineteen Madison related corporations chartered and operating between 1845 and 1857.[41] These include, in addition to banks and insurance companies and enterprises that persisted from the first era, turnpike and plank road companies, gas and telegraph companies, and manufacturing companies (Appendix A for the list of Madison corporations).

Seventy-nine persons are known to have participated as investors, directors, and officers of Madison's eleven corporations during the three decades between 1814 and 1844.[42] Place of birth is known for 55 of these, date of birth for 54, occupation for 60, and political affiliation for 44. Twenty four were born in the South, ten in Kentucky, seven in Maryland, and six in Virginia; fifteen in Mid-Atlantic states, eight in Pennsylvania and seven in New York; nine in New England; one in Ohio; and six outside the United States. The majority of the 54 for whom birth date is known were born before 1800, and were over thirty when most of the corporations were formed. Only fourteen were born between 1800 and 1814; none was born after that date. Of the 60 men for whom occupations are known, 36 were merchants; ten were professional persons, nine of them lawyers; one was a newspaper publisher; four were artisans; two were tavern keepers; three were magistrates; and four were farmers. Of the 44 for whom political

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[41]These persons have been identified from the charters establishing the corporations, from newspaper reports concerning the corporations that operated during the period, and from corporation reports, primarily those of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad and the Madison Branch of the State Bank.

[42]Sources are the same as those for property owners indicated in footnote five above.

party affiliation is known, 30 were Whigs, fourteen were Democrats.

This profile of corporate investors and managers before 1845 suggests that a member of the group was as likely to come from the Mid-Atlantic states and New England as the South. He was born in the last two decades of the eighteenth century and was in his thirties or above in the 1830s when he became active in Madison enterprises. More than likely he was a merchant by occupation and a Whig in politics. John Sering, who participated in six of the eleven corporations of the period, was such a person, as was Victor King who contributed to four. Sering was born in Maryland in 1785 and came to Madison in his mid-twenties. In 1811 he opened a store there and in 1816, upon the organization of the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank, he became its cashier. An active and "influential politician," he served a number of terms in the state legislature. In 1832 he opposed the reelection of President Jackson and became a Whig.[43] Victor King's parents had gone from Pennsylvania to Dayton, Ohio, in 1808, and in 1816, King moved from there to Madison. He opened a general store soon after his arrival and remained a storekeeper until his retirement in the 1850s.[44] Following President Jackson's veto of the bill for rechartering the Second Bank of the United States, he like Sering, opposed the President's reelection and became a Whig.[45] In 1832 he helped reorganize the Farmers and Mechanics' Bank and became its president.[46]

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[43]English Collection, biographical sketches, box "S."

[44]Obituary, Madison Daily Courier, December 11, 1871.

[45]Madison Indiana Republican, September 13, 1832.

[46]Ibid., September 27, 1832.

Forty-five of the 79 entrepreneurs in the 1814-1844 group were in Madison in 1850, and in 1860 eighteen still lived there.[47] Twenty-seven of those who participated in more than one enterprise had an even higher level of persistence in 1850.[48] At that time twenty of the 27 were in Madison while five of the seven men who participated in four or more enterprises, continued in Madison; both John Sering and William Dutton, each of whom participated in four corporations had died.[49] In 1860 seven of the 27 still resided in Madison but all of the most active had gone except Victor King.[50] Lanier and Woodburn, associated with seven and five enterprises respectively, had left Madison and so too had Copeland P. J. Arion and Milton Stapp, both associated with four. Arion and Stapp had come to Madison in 1816. Arion became the publisher of the Indiana Republican and Stapp, after reading law formed a partnership with Lanier. The fortunes of both rose and fell with Madison: after 40 years in Madison, Arion sold everything in 1856 and moved to a farm in Decatur, Illinois; Stapp wrote in 1856, "I am poor and have quit the practice of law." In 1858 he moved to a farm in Texas, "Ploughing what corn the grasshopper has left."[51]

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[47] U. S., manuscript population census for 1850; manuscript population census for 1860.

[48] U. S., manuscript population census for 1850.

[49] Obituary, Madison Weekly Courier, May 9, 1840.

[50] U. S., manuscript population census for 1860.

[51] Information on Arion comes from Ernest B. Reeder file of notable citizens of Madison (Jefferson County Library, Madison, Indiana); Obituary, Madison Daily Courier, April 30, 1887; Wanderer, Number 3, Madison Weekly Herald, September 26, 1889. Information on Stapp comes from the English Collection, biographical sketches, box "S"; Woollen, Biographical and Historical Sketches, 168-72; quotations are from Stapp Memoirs, 50, 60.

One hundred and fifty-two persons are known to have been associated, either as officers, directors, or investors, with Madison's nineteen corporations between 1845 and 1857.[52] Place and date of birth are known for 126, occupation for 124, and political affiliation for 63.[53] Forty-two were born in the South, 21 in Kentucky and fifteen in Maryland; 28 in Mid-Atlantic states, thirteen in New York and thirteen in Pennsylvania; seventeen in New England; 23 in the West, in Ohio and Indiana; and sixteen were born outside the United States, twelve in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The majority of the 126 for whom birth date is known were over 40 in 1850. One was born in 1771; six between 1780 and 1789; 29 between 1790 and 1799; 30 between 1800 and 1809; 41 between 1810 and 1819; and nineteen between 1820 and 1824. Among the 124 for whom occupation is known, 50 were merchants; 33 were professional persons, seventeen of them lawyers; nineteen were engaged in manufacturing and commerce, particularly agricultural processing; ten were artisans; and twelve were farmers. Forty-three of the 63 for whom political affiliation is known were Whigs who became Republicans after the formation of that party; and eighteen were Democrats. Two changed parties--one shifted from the Democratic to the Republican party and one from the Whig to the Democratic party. (Appendix B summarizes nativity, date of birth, and occupation for all four groups.)

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[52] Laws of the State of Indiana (1845-1855); newspaper reports concerning corporations that operated during the period and corporation reports primarily of Madison banks and the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad.

[53] U. S., manuscript population census for 1850; manuscript population census for 1860; political affiliation sources already cited plus Republican Delegates to State Convention, Madison Daily Courier, March 10, 1856; and Republican Ticket, Madison Daily Courier, April 3, 1857.

A member of the 1845-1857 entrepreneurial group, as in the earlier group, was as likely to come from the Mid-Atlantic states and New England, as the South, although he was less likely to come from Virginia than previously. He was older, being in his forties or fifties in 1850, even though those in their thirties did constitute the single largest age group. He was apt to be a merchant in occupation and a Whig-Republican in politics, but the chance of his being a merchant had declined considerably. Typically, he associated with only one of Madison's nineteen corporations. David Shaw, whose only corporate association was as a director of the Madison Branch of the State Bank in 1846, was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, in 1796 and went west in 1818 to settle in Dayton, Ohio. Becoming dissatisfied there he moved to Rising Sun, Indiana, in 1826 and in 1838 to Madison. There he opened a dry goods store and maintained it until his retirement in the 1850s.[54]

Five of the 152 entrepreneurs in the 1845-1857 group settled in Madison after 1850. Of the 147 who were there before that date the census taker of 1850 found 119. In 1860, 63 of the whole group of 152 remained in Madison. Of the 57 associated with more than one corporation, 54 were in Madison in 1850 and 33 remained in 1860. All thirteen men who were associated with four corporations or more were in Madison in 1850 and nine remained in 1860.[55] Given the economic decline of Madison in the 1850s, this group had a surprisingly high level of persistence. Among those who were not there in 1850 were David White and Lanier, perhaps Madison's most energetic enterprisers.

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[54]Obituary, Madison Daily Courier, December 26, 1860.

[55]U. S., manuscript population census for 1850; manuscript population census for 1860.

The editor of the Madison Daily Courier regularly referred to White as "Old Enterprise" because of the many business activities in which he engaged.[56] In addition to his corporate interests, White owned steamboats, including the Western World and the David White, real estate in Madison valued at $18,000, and the Mammoth Cave Pork House, which in the 1850-1851 packing season dressed 51,192 hogs.[57] In 1852 the Mercantile Agency's reporter in Madison estimated White to be worth at least $250,000.[58] Born in Pennsylvania in 1815, White first went west to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he engaged in river trade. In the late 1840s he left for Madison and there achieved at least temporary economic success.[59] Bankruptcy in 1856 precipitated his departure from Madison for Keokuk, Iowa, where he again entered into pork packing. In 1861 the credit reporter for the Mercantile Agency in Keokuk succinctly reported White's credit as "utterly worthless" and in 1862 simply advised "strike him out."[60]

Lanier left Madison under much different circumstances than did White and with far different results. Even among those who stood at the top of the hierarchy of Madison community builders, Lanier's career had notable differences. In any hierarchy of Madison's community builders, based either

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[56]Madison Daily Courier, October 8, 1852; September 16, 1854; March 18, 1854; March 28, 1856.

[57]Madison Weekly Courier, June 21, 1848; U. S., manuscript manufactures census for 1850; Madison Daily Courier, January 14, 1851.

[58]Mss. Credit Reporting Ledger, 27.

[59]U. S., manuscript population census for 1850; Madison Weekly Courier, June 21, 1848.

[60]Mss. Credit Reporting Ledger of the Mercantile Agency, Iowa, Lee County, 1847-1879, Volume 25 (Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Boston), 127.

on amount of land owned or association with corporations, only Lanier was in the top five of all three. Among the 1844 land owners he was fourth behind John McIntire, William Hendricks, and John Woodburn; in the 1814-1844 group associated with corporations he stood first, ahead of John Sering, John Woodburn, Copeland P. J. Arion, and Milton Stapp. In the 1845-1857 group associated with corporations he was fourth, behind Michael G. Bright, Nathan Powell, and Jesse Whitehead.

As a lawyer rather than a merchant Lanier's occupation differed from that of many of Madison's leaders as did the course of his career. Among the hierarchy of community builders, Woodburn, White, Powell, and McIntire began and ended their antebellum careers in Madison as merchants. Arion and Stapp changed occupations in Madison but the change tended to be toward occupations of a similar or lower status rather than higher. Arion began as a publisher of the Indiana Republican, moving from there to book seller, to merchant, to postmaster, and finally to farming. Stapp, originally a farmer, studied law and moved from the law into local and state politics. He tried banking, merchandizing, and newspaper publishing before returning to local politics and the practice of law in the 1850s. Bright and Hendricks, like Lanier, were both lawyers. Bright, although he participated in more corporate enterprises than any of the others in the top five of the groups of community builders, remained a lawyer. Hendricks moved to a political career, then back to the law. Beginning in Madison as publisher of the Western Eagle, he became the first representative to Congress from the state in 1816; he was reelected in 1817, 1818, and 1820, and served in Congress until 1822, when he was elected Governor. Early in 1825 he resigned as Governor to take a seat in the United States Senate. He served

twelve years in that body, but was defeated for reelection in 1836. When Hendricks returned to Madison in 1837, after having served in the three highest offices available in state politics, it was to practice law.[61] Only Jesse Whitehead, among Madison's most active community builders, made a career change to an economically higher status while in Madison. Whitehead left storekeeping in 1844 and thereafter devoted his energies to banking and his other corporate enterprises.[62] Like Bright, Whitehead remained in Madison throughout the antebellum period, but both left Madison in the 1860s when all hope for the future growth of the city was gone. Whitehead went to Chicago in 1865, and Bright to Indianapolis in 1868.[63]

Lanier had no more hesitation in changing the course of his career than he had in leaving Madison. "In 1833, upon the chartering of the State Bank of Indiana," he wrote, "I retired from the practice of the law, and took a prominent share in the management of that institution."[64] He had great success in commercial banking in Madison but that did not prevent his abandoning it for the negotiating of railroad securities when the opportunity arose. From his experience with the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, Lanier had learned "what might be expected of other lines more favorably situated." In the latter part of 1848 he went to New York for the purpose of becoming involved in the construction of railroads on a

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[61]Hendricks, Biographical and Historical Souvenir, 206-09.

[62]Mss. Credit Reporting Ledger, Indiana, 394; U. S., manuscript population census for 1850.

[63]Whitehead obituary, Madison Weekly Courier, January 4, 1882; Bright obituary, Madison Weekly Herald, January 26, 1881; Woollen, Biographical and Historical Sketches, 452.

[64]Lanier, Sketch of Life, 13.

wider scale. There on January 1, 1849, he formed a partnership with Richard H. Winslow to negotiate railway securities. In connection with their brokerage firm, they anticipated establishing a general banking business.[65] Lanier was a successful Madison banker as he had been a successful lawyer, but he was prepared to embark on a new and perhaps risky enterprise in the nation's financial capital.

Perhaps the manner in which Lanier differed from Madison's other community builders may be seen in the behavior of those who left antebellum Madison. Stapp and Arion looked to the familiar, to farming in Texas and Illinois, as their new source of hope, while Woodburn retired to a plantation in Mississippi. David White, considered among the most "adventurous" of Madison's enterprisers, settled in Keokuk, Iowa, a community on the Mississippi River not unlike Madison, and returned to mercantile pursuits. Lanier chose the less familiar, the "big" city and western railroad development.

Western railroads at the time Lanier cast his lot with them were hardly a proven industry. In 1849, he wrote, "there were in operation in the West only about 600 miles of line." These roads were chiefly the remains of old state systems which had been sold to private companies, as had the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, and "were almost without exception badly located and imperfectly built." They all had sustained heavy losses, but Lanier felt "their want of success to be no argument against lines properly constructed upon good routes." In New York he undertook by every means in his power, particularly in newspaper articles

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[65] Ibid., 18. The manuscript population census for 1850 reported Lanier in Madison.

and pamphlets, to emphasize the importance and possibility of railroad development. "The result of our efforts," he wrote, "soon far exceeded our expectations."[66]

The capacity for taking risk and for "working out an adventurous experiment rather than watchful waiting for the turn of events," Fritz Redlich has written, was one of the foremost characteristics of the ante-bellum creative entrepreneur.[67] Perhaps no other Madison community builder had Lanier's foresight or capacity for "working out" the development of a new enterprise. Of Lanier's arrival in New York in 1849 the American Railroad Journal reported that he had brought to New York the first western railroad bonds ever offered in that market.

> At this time Western railroads hardly existed even in idea. There were no precedents to inspire confidence, or to guide in framing a system or plan for presenting these enterprises to the public. Before anything could be accomplished, a favorable opinion had to be created, a formidable undertaking where monetary cooperation was to be secured.[68]

Commencing with the bonds of the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad the firm Lanier joined soon "negotiated a million of bonds daily." "The aggregate for the year was enormous," Lanier wrote. "We were without competitors for a business we had created, and consequently made money very rapidly."[69]

Lanier was adventurous but he was not reckless. The conservative policies of the Madison Branch Bank suggest anything but the plunger.

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[66] Ibid., 18-19.

[67] Redlich, American Business Leaders, I, 14.

[68] Winslow obituary, American Railroad Journal (March 2, 1861), quoted in New York Times, March 6, 1861.

[69] Lanier, Sketch of Life, 19.

Moreover, Lanier's departure from Madison and move to New York was not precipitate. He had made one of his first trips to New York in the spring of 1837, following suspension of specie payment by American banks.[70] He returned again in April 1838, as a representative of the Second State Bank, to attend a convention of the officers of United States banks held to consider the subject of resuming specie payments.[71] He may have returned to Madison after the convention or he may have stayed on for he was in New York on August 4, 1838.[72] Considering the slowness of travel at that time and the fact that he was then a member of a "Select Committee" of the State Bank's Board of Control charged with investigating the possibility of opening a branch of the State Bank of Indiana in New York, it seems probable he remained in New York for several months in 1838, following the end of the convention in May.[73]

The branch which was to be styled the "Bank of the State of Indiana in New York" was intended to take advantage of the "late law of the State of New York" (that is, the so-called Free Banking Act of 1838), which had "opened the door to investment of capital in Banking to all." The functions of the New York branch were to "act as the agent of the [Indiana] Branches in keeping their accounts, &c." and to "protect the Drafts of the Branches

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[70]James M. Ray to James F. D. Lanier, June 17, 1837, Letter Book of the State Bank of Indiana, 1834-1842 (Archives Division, Indiana State Library), 113.

[71]Lanier, Sketch of Life, 16.

[72]James M. Ray to James F. D. Lanier, August 4, 1838, Letter Book of the State Bank, 201.

[73]Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the State Bank of Indiana, February Session, 1839 (Indiana Division, Indiana State Library), 3.

to an amount to be agreed on, when the Branch drawing had not funds in New York, in order to save their specie, when hard run."[74] Plans for a New York branch continued at least until May 1839, when the cashier of the State Bank wrote to Lanier, again in New York, that he had "no very strong expectation" of the sale of $90,000 in State Bank stock "until the New York Agency is established when our business and profit can be made familiar to the Rothchilds of Wall Street."[75] The New York branch never materialized, a victim in part of the depression that settled on the country in 1839.

It may have been during one of his trips to New York that Lanier first made the acquaintance of his future partner. Richard H. Winslow, six years younger than Lanier, was born in Albany in 1806 and had moved to New York City in 1829. Soon after arriving he joined Minot C. Morgan as a commission merchant in the firm of Morgan and Winslow. Winslow remained a commission merchant until about 1832 when he left the firm and became an exchange broker on Wall Street, associated with Tilly Allen in the firm of Allen and Winslow.[76] Allen retired in 1835 and Winslow became an independent broker until 1844, when he formed a new partnership under the firm name of Winslow and Perkins.[77] The common interest in banking and

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[74]Proceedings of the Board of Directors, 3-4.

[75]James M. Ray to James F. D. Lanier, May 21, 1839, Letter Book of the State Bank, 256.

[76]David-Parson Holton, Winslow Memorial: Family Records of Winslows and Their Descendents in America (2 vols., New York, 1888), II, 819.

[77]Longworth's American Almanac New-York Register and City Directory for the years 1835 through 1842 (New York, 1835-1842); Daggett's New York City Directory for 1843 and 1844 (New York, 1843). These Directories show

finance of Winslow and Lanier may have brought them together in New York before 1839, but if it did not it seems highly likely they met then or soon afterward.

The Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company Bank of Cincinnati, Ohio, opened a Wall Street branch in 1839, probably as a result of the New York bank law's having "opened the door for investment of capital in Banking to all."[78] The president of the bank was Micajah T. Williams, a native, as was Lanier, of North Carolina who had come to Cincinnati in 1812. He was twenty years old at the time of his arrival in Cincinnati but "after a short residence took the most prominent position in the affairs of the Town." Williams showed special interest in the internal improvement system in Ohio as did Lanier in Indiana, and helped develop the Miami Canal.[79] The Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company's cashier was Joshua Newton Perkins, who in 1844 formed the brokerage partnership with Winslow. When the branch was established in 1839, Williams continued to live in Cincinnati but Perkins took up residence in New York.[80]

Both the Madison branch of the State Bank and the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company Bank had been incorporated in 1834 and from the

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Winslow as having no partner during these years. Daggett's New York City Directory for 1844 and 1845 (New York, 1844), 384, carried the item "Winslow and Perkins brokers 40 Wall."

[78]Longworth's American Almanac New-York Register and City Directory, 1839 (New York, 1839), 33.

[79]Charles Theodore Greve, Centennial History of Cincinnati (2 vols., Chicago, 1904), I, 582-83.

[80]Longworth's American Almanac, 1839, 33.

very beginning had maintained a "Correspondent bank" relationship.[81] Williams and Perkins were president and cashier respectively of the bank in Cincinnati in 1836, when Lanier's bank maintained "Deposits in" the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company Bank of $101,271.15.[82] This was the largest balance of the Madison bank maintained in any of its correspondent banks. It appears to follow from this that Lanier must have known both Williams and Perkins prior to their establishing a branch in New York. Indeed they may have cooperated in 1838 in investigating the possibilities of taking advantage of the New York state banking law.

After the opening of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company's branch in New York City, Lanier's association with Williams and Perkins strengthened his associations with the Wall Street financial group that he had come to know during his several business trips to New York. Since Winslow was associated with the same group, it appears possible, indeed probable, that the paths of Lanier and Winslow crossed at least by 1839. When Winslow and Perkins formed their partnership in 1844 they became New York agents for the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company.[83]

Although it is not clear whether the personal relation between Lanier and Winslow had advanced to business in 1845, when Lanier negotiated a loan

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[81]Charles Cist, Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals and Future Prospects (Cindinnati, 1841), 50. Correspondent banks were antebellum banks, especially country and city banks, that maintained a functional relationship primarily through the maintainance of deposits in each others banks. These deposits or "bankers balances" were used to redeem the notes of other banks under a note redemption contract. Redlich, Molding of American Banking, Part II, 3-4.

[82]The Cincinnati Directory for the Years 1836-7 (Cindinnati, 1836), 208; Indiana Documentary Journal (1836-1837), 49.

[83]Daggett's New York City Directory 1844-45, 384.

of $50,000 for the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad from John J. Palmer, President of the Merchants' Bank of New York,[84] it was a business relation in 1846. At that time Lanier negotiated in New York with the same creditor "a loan of $100,000.00 in favorable terms" for the Madison railroad. "We are informed," wrote the Indiana State Sentinel, "that Mr. Lanier was very much indebted for his success to the credit and exertions of Messrs. Winslow and Perkins, a highly respectable and responsible firm in Wall street, New York."[85]

Lanier had established a relationship with Winslow of acquaintance and business; the marriage in 1847 of Lanier's daughter to the younger brother of Winslow made it a family relationship. On March 18, 1847, James Winslow, at the time a hardware merchant in the firm of Sheldon, Phelps and Company of New York, married Margaret Downing Lanier in Madison.[86] The couple apparently had a surprisingly simple wedding for the daughter of Madison's leading citizen. Only a brief three-line notice, contributed by Lanier to the editor "accompanied with a goodly slice of cake and bottle of wine," appeared in the Madison Courier.[87]

The Madison and Indianapolis Railroad completed its connection with Indianapolis in 1847 making the future of Madison look exceedingly bright. Few of its community builders then perceived dark clouds on the horizon.

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[84] American Railroad Journal, XVIII (June 26, 1845), 409.

[85] Indianapolis Indiana Sentinel, August 19, 1846.

[86] James Winslow to Margaret D. Lanier, Harvey Curtis, Minister, Marriage Record, 1845-1850 (Clerk's Office, Jefferson County Court House, Madison, Indiana); Daggett's New York Directory, 1847-48, 386, 447.

[87] Madison Weekly Courier, March 20, 1847.

Few perhaps, but the actions of at least one, Lanier, suggest that at Madison's finest hour he already had thoughts of a larger setting for his talents.

In the latter part of 1848 he went to New York. The firm of Winslow, Lanier and Company became a reality on January 1, 1849, but such was the caution of Lanier that he did not sever his connections with Madison or its enterprises. Although he remained away from Madison much of 1849, he returned for four extended stays totaling several months in 1849 and 1850.[88] Even as late as November of the latter year he apparently did not consider the move to New York permanent. In declining reelection to the presidency of the Madison Bank, he wrote that he expected "to be absent from the city most of the time for the coming three years."[89] The Board of Directors of the Madison bank refused to allow him to resign at that time, but the following year, in November 1851, he refused reelection, "dissolving," as he wrote, "the connection that has so long existed between us."[90] During much of 1851, his son-in-law, James Winslow, presided over the bank and in November succeeded Lanier as president.[91]

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[88] Lanier returned to Madison in 1849 for the annual meeting of the Board of the Madison bank and remained until at least November 6, 1849, when he stopped signing the minutes. He returned again December 7, 1849, to January 18, 1850, and April 19, 1850, to May 17, 1850. Madison Branch State Bank of Indiana, Directors Journal (Archives Madison Bank and Trust Company, Madison, Indiana). In 1850 the New York Directory shows Lanier's only address as Winslow, Lanier and Co., Wall Street, Daggett's New York City Directory 1850-1851 (New York, 1850).

[89] Madison Branch State Bank, Directors Journal, November 4, 1850.

[90] Ibid., November 3, 1851.

[91] Ibid., February 18, 1851 to April 8, 1851; July 11, 1851 to July 29, 1851; and November 3, 1851.

Lanier's success in New York in the negotiation of railroad securities having far exceeded his expectations, his departure had become permanent. In November 1851 the Madison Daily Tribune reported, "We understand that this active and enterprising citizen of Madison, who has long been officially connected with the Branch Bank in this place, is soon to take up his permanent residence in the city of New York....we cannot but regret that Madison is to be deprived of so worthy and so useful a citizen."[92]

Lanier's departure from Madison characterized that of many of Madison's community builders summarized in the persistence tables for 1850 and 1860. The persistence of all three groups and the active and most active subdivisions of those groups in 1850 remained above 70 percent except for the 1814-1844 group as a whole, which had a persistence level of about 55 percent. In 1860 the persistence of all three groups and their subdivisions had declined. Notable was the decline in the 1844 land owning group and the 1814-1844 entrepreneurial group: persistence in the 1814-1844 group and its subdivisions dropped below 25 percent and in the most active group it dropped to below fifteen percent; persistence was higher, 45 percent, in the 1844 group but the most active subdivision had a persistence level precisely the same as the similar subdivision in the 1814-1844 group. These groups represented the men who in the past had been most energetic, perceptive, and willing to risk their wealth in the building of Madison. The similarity in departure signaled that for this type of community builder the town no longer offered hope.

The 1845-1857 entrepreneurial group and its subdivisions present a

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[92]Madison Daily Tribune, November 15, 1851.

Table I. Persistence of Madison Community Builders 1850-1860.

	1844 Group N=121	1814-1844 Group N=79	1845-1857 Group N=147
1850	88	45	119
1860	45	18	N=152(1860) 63

Table II. Persistence of Active Community Builders 1850-1860.

	1844 Group N=20	1814-1844 Group N=27	1845-1857 Group N=57
1850	17	20	54
1860	9	7	33

Table III. Persistence of Most Active Community Builders 1850-1860.

	1844 Group N=7	1814-1844 Group N=7	1845-1857 Group N=13
1850	7	5	13
1860	1	1	9

Source: Manuscript population census for 1850; manuscript population census for 1860.

different picture: only for the group as a whole did persistence in 1860 drop below half, while for the important subdivisions it remained above, reaching almost seventy percent for the most active in the group. Considered with the persistence decline of the other two groups, the persistence of the 1845-1857 group, particularly in its subdivisions, suggests that the active and most active in this group may have become caretakers of the enterprises generated by the entrepreneurs of the earlier groups who were no longer in Madison. Comparison of the persistence of the most

active with the persistence of the least active, i.e., those who were associated with only one enterprise, in the 1845-1857 group, supports this view. Ninety-five of the 152 in the 1845-1857 group participated in only one enterprise; in 1850 only 29 of the 95 remained in Madison. The persistence of the least active in the 1845-1857 group compares favorably with the persistence of the active and most active subdivisions of the 1844 and 1814-1844 groups and differs markedly from those subdivisions in its own group. The comparison suggests that the least active, having the fewest ties with Madison enterprises, departed from Madison at a rate similar to that of the active and most active of the 1844 and 1814-1844 groups whose talents, like Lanier's, drew them to new and more hopeful sources of challenge.

After 1850, the promise of Madison declined and with it the hope of community builders of combining personal and public growth, personal and public prosperity. During the decade of the 1850s, Madison began to atrophy and its opportunity shifted from building to maintainance. Unlike Madison's decline in the early 1820s, the decline of the 1850s was without hope. Many of those who came to Madison during this period, including Adolph and Frederika Brandeis, the parents of the future Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, stayed only a short time. The Brandeis family remained only a few years after their arrival in 1849 because the business of the produce store the family opened "did not turn out as favorably as they hoped."[93] Disappointed with Madison, the family moved to Louisville where the future justice was born.

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[93]Ellen Norman Stern, Embattled Justice: The Story of Louis Dembitz Brandeis (Philadelphia, 1971), 7-8.